1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER IV.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE LENAPE AND THEIR KINDRED TRIBES.

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1677

AFTER the murder of the Conestogo Indians, the Lenni Lenape thought proper, for their safety, to withdraw altogether from the interior of the white settlements, into the wilds of the Susquehannah country; and Government, conscious that they could no longer protect any Indians, or body of Indians, whether Christians or not, in the settled parts of the province, advised the Christian Indians, whom, during the last troubles, they had with difficulty prevented from sharing the fate of the Conestogos, to retire into the back country. They did so, and settled at Wyalusing, which then became the nearest settlement of Indians to the white inhabitants, being upwards of 150 miles north of Philadelphia, and about 100 miles from the frontier settlers beyond the blue mountains; all the other Indians of that nation, together with the Nanticokes, lived then higher up the Susquehannah. For about five years, the Indians on this river enjoyed peace, and the Christian Indians lived quietly here and at another settlement they had made thirty miles higher, built good houses for themselves, together with a spacious church, planted fruit trees, and put large bodies of land under cultivation. But, while they were flattering themselves with the most favourable prospect, they were informed that the Six Nations had sold the whole country, including the land they lived on, to the English. They soon saw through the object of this clandestine proceeding, of which they had not received the least notice, and foreseeing what kind of neighbours they should have, if they should stay where

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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they were, they determined to move off in a body to the Ohio, where they had received an invitation to settle from the grand council of their nation. Accordingly, two hundred and forty one souls set off directly for the Muskingum river, where a large tract of land was given them, out of that which the Wyandots had formerly granted and confirmed to their people; the other Indians of the same nation residing on the Susquehannah soon followed, some settling at one place, some at another; the Mouseys, however, joined their own tribe, who long since had emigrated and were settled on the head waters of the Allegheny river; and so the whole country east of the Allegheny mountains was cleared of its original inhabitants.

The Delawares thus became at once released from their troublesome neighbours the Iroquois, who had calculated on their settling near them, at a place they had already fixed upon; but they were mistaken, for with all their fair speeches they could not persuade the Lenape, who gave them plainly to understand that they were no longer inclined to listen to a people who had so long and so often deceived them.

This happened in the year 1768, about six years before the beginning of the revolutionary war. During which short period of tranquillity, the numbers of the Christian Indians on the Ohio rapidly increased, and never was there such a fair prospect of their being fixed in a state of prosperous civilisation. But the revolution put an end to these hopes, and this opportunity was lost, perhaps, never to return again. It was not the fault of the American government, who were truly desirous of seeing the Indians adopt a neutral line of conduct, and repeatedly advised them not to interfere in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country; happy would it have been if the British government had acted in the same manner; but they pursued a different plan. These poor deluded people were dragged into a war in which they had no concern, by which not only their po-

[Errata. See cat. 116, p. 348. -Analyst]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

125 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing 167 at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the 161 Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had [103] since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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731 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the
167 Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in
657 western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time
162 of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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These may be characterized by relative size in the following chronological order. 177

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with government officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities. [657]
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect. 648 177

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Delaware whether by administrative action or otherwise. [167]
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap- 33 177

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today. [178] [167]

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware. [121] [197]

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary 177 771 764

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and ehalu'xola'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 The Delawares belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original 131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch, 648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th 175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of 167 migrations in which bands of Delawares 175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P.24, A]

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
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Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

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in Kansas, and from there they moved to Oklahoma and became incorporated with the Cherokee. Other bands found their way to Canada in the Province of Ontario, where they are now known as Delawares, Munsee and Moravians.

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The present population of the Delawares is estimated to be about 1,400. Of this number, 1,000 are in Oklahoma and the remainder in the province of Ontario, Canada.

Field of Art

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Until about 1890 the Delawares practiced many of their native arts and crafts but among the modern descendants of the tribe only a few of the older arts have survived. Pottery making, work in stone, bone, horn, antler, silver and the use of quills and hair in embroidery; twined basketry made from certain roots, and woven bags and girdles of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabium*) are now only vaguely remembered by some of the older members of the groups in Oklahoma and Ontario. Work in silver persisted until

[324]

[326]

[P24, B] About 1913.